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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses educational programs for minority students, including females, disadvantaged and gifted. The paper begins with a section on the history of minority underrepresentation in gifted programs and gives a series of reasons why appropriate educational opportunities for these children have been difficult to establish. Perhaps the greatest barriers are attitudes and expectations which tend to lump all talented students into one category without reference to their individual personal and cultural backgrounds. The next section describes the goals and methods of some existing programs for disadvantaged gifted students. In the next section, suggestions are given for planning successful programs for this group that include the following: 1) goals and objectives for the disadvantaged gifted should be the same as for other gifted students; 2) multiple criteria and procedures should be used to identify gifted students; 3) a differentiated curriculum should be provided for the disadvantaged gifted; 4) programs should include instruction in learning how to learn, and should be culturally pluralistic, encourage creative approaches to learning, and deal intelligently with language development; 5) expectations should be high; 6) learning should be extended into the community; 7) opportunities for staff development should be provided; and 8) programs should work to create a school and community which will nurture the potential of the disadvantaged and gifted. The paper's final section deals specifically with identifying and educating gifted women. (CG)

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Educational Programs for Minority/Disadvantaged Gifted Students

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Over the years, the underrepresentation of minority groups in programs for the gifted and in various fields of specialized talents has been a cause for real concern for educators and society at large. The minorities about which we are especially concerned include blacks, Hispanics, Native-Americans, Asian-Americans and women, although the latter are technically not a minority. It is these groups which are considered or designated as "minority populations" by the United States Civil Rights Commission.

While there is considerable overlap between minorities and disadvantaged populations, the two are not synonymous. Even the term disadvantaged has two aspects with respect to compensatory education efforts: economic disadvantage which is operationally defined in terms of poverty and educational disadvantage which is operationally defined in terms of below-average academic achievement. There are minority children who achieve academically and whose families do not live below the poverty level and who, consequently, are neither economically nor educationally

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disadvantaged. The term disadvantaged gifted represents a melding of two concepts, each of which has many different definitions. It is commonly used to include both racial and ethnic minorities and the poverty stricken although those so designated may not be both.

The concern for talent development among populations which have been traditionally underrepresented goes back a long way. In 1954, for example, the Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training (Wolfle, 1954) warned that the nation was wasting much of its intellectual talent: "Society fails to secure the full benefit of a large fraction of its brightest youth, for many bright boys and girls do not get the education which would permit them to work at levels for which they are potentially qualified" (p. 8). A large proportion of such youth who were not getting the education that would nurture their potential to the fullest were those from the lower social classes, the ethnic or foreign-born groups, and the color castes. In a report from the Conservation of Human Resources Project (Bray, 1954) at the same time, it was observed: "Superior performance in any society is limited by the number of individuals with a high order of intelligence but in our society the number of such individuals could be substantially increased through improving the opportunities for members of the lower socio-economic classes to become interested in and acquire a good education" (p. 51). While that project did not detail what it meant by "a good education," it made clear that increasing the college-going rate (including graduate and professional education) was clearly viewed as the avenue for developing talent potential of the disadvantaged minority students. It is this effort at what I call "mainstreaming"--developing specialized talents through academic programs, both traditional and non-traditional--that has dominated our efforts

at nurturing the gifted and talented from all segments of the population.

Created in 1955 "to champion the able student--whoever he might be, from whatever stratum of society, no matter what career or college he might aspire to, from large school or small, public or private, rich town or poor," the National Merit Scholarship Program aimed at identifying and recognizing the most able secondary school students (most able defined as the top 2 percent on the ability scale), encouraging and enabling them to attend the college of their choice. Reporting at the end of its first decade after having appointed some 11,000 Merit Scholars, the NMSC noted that there was a talent loss through underdevelopment of intellectual potential, noting that:

> Such underdevelopment is more and more pronounced going down the socioeconomic ladder, and reaches almost disaster proportions in culturally deprived groups subject to discrimination, the obvious example being the Negro American population. The student from lower socioeconomic circumstances is appreciably less likely to enlarge his native gifts during his primary and secondary school years. Accordingly, as a high school junior [the point at which the NMSC test is taken] he is unlikely to place in the uppermost one percent at all, whatever his potential may have been. His gifts have been dissipated, perhaps in acute measure and probably irretrievably, and both he and the nation will suffer from the consequence of the loss. (NMSC, 1965, pp. 2-3)

While we now recognize the inappropriateness of the term "culturally deprived groups" and would use another term today, the NMSC's concern with minorities and disadvantaged students who had outstanding potential was a real one and, in the case of black students, the Corporation set up a special competition called the National Achievement Scholarship Program (NASP).

During the 1960s and 1970s, program efforts initiated under the War on Poverty and the Great Society were aimed at identifying and nurturing

the gifted and talented from among minorities and disadvantaged populations. College-going numbers and rates increased, only to level off for some groups and even to decline during the 1980s.

National Science Foundation (1980, 1982) studies of degrees granted in such fields as engineering, computer science, mathematics, physical science, biological science, psychology, and social science to women and minority students clearly indicated continuing underrepresentation of most of these groups in most areas, especially at advanced levels. Only Asian-Americans were represented at least in proportion to their numbers in the population as whole and were, in fact, overrepresented in some areas. Studies over the years have indicated that minority and women underrepresentation in fields of specialized talent begins rather early in the educational process. Courses pursued in secondary schools tend not to be college-preparatory, minorities and women are less likely to be identified for programs for the gifted, the dropout rate is substantially higher for most minorities, minority groups are overrepresented in two-year institutions where professional and advanced programs are less available than in four-year institutions, etc. The single exception is the Asian-American group. In his classic study, Wolfle (1954) attributed the differences between white and non-white groups to "differential schooling, opportunity, and social and cultural conditions."

The differentials among various ethnic and racial groups, sexes, socioeconomic classes, and castes in educational attainment and in achievement as adults are too well known to bear further detailing. However, some data in a report by Policy Analysis for California Education (PACE) in October 1985 bear recounting because of the challenge presented. PACE (1985)

reports:

+ Minority enrollment is expected to exceed 50% of total K-12 enrollment [in California] before 1990, creating a "majority of minorities."

+ Twenty-five percent of the nation's immigrants are settling in California, predominantly in the San Francisco and Los Angeles areas.

+ An estimated 23 percent of 5- to 17-year-olds in California speak a language other than English at home.

+ Students with limited English proficiency composed 11.9 percent of K-12 enrollment. Forty-one different primary languages are represented: however five languages (Spanish, Vietnamese, Cantonese, Korean and Filipino) are spoken by 87 percent of this group. (p. 1)

Horace Mann Bond's observation needs repeating. In his Inglis Lecture titled The Search for Talent (1959) he noted that "there is 'gold in them thar hills'....This is the gold of high human capacity for sustained intellectual activity on the highest levels. At no time, nor in any culture, have the effects of an equalitarian ideal of education so prepared a population for the next possible advancement toward complete equality of opportunity" (p. 24). Bond was speaking of the disadvantaged and minorities to which we must add women as a population with underdeveloped talents.

Barriers to Identifying and Nurturing Disadvantaged Gifted

There are a number of barriers and problems which impede the establishment of appropriate educational opportunities for culturally different gifted children, some of which also apply to gifted female students. These include, but are not limited to the following:

-- Attitudes and expectations of educators who often do not believe

there is giftedness in culturally different populations. Their conception of giftedness is limited to high performance on intelligence tests and formal academic achievment, denying opportunities to those who are not academic achievers and discouraging many "talented persons from developing their potential since their abilities and achievements in non academic areas are not valued or recognized" (Gallagher and Kinney, 1974, p. 5).

-- Over-reliance on intelligence tests which focus "mainly on the absorption of facts and the systematic processing of those facts in predetermined ways" (Gallagher and Kinney, 1974, p. 6) as the prime criterion for identification. Gallagher and Kinney argue that our "inability to accept intellectual pluralism is probably part of the problem of education's inability to accept any substantial measure of cultural pluralism" (p. 6).

-- A rigid learning environment in which the "diverse skills and interests and kinesthetic modes of expression which many culturally different children have carefully nurtured are frequently ignored or discouraged" (Gallagher and Kinney, p. 7). Linked to and part of the rigid learning environment is the barrier of inflexible curriculum design which fails to take into account individual needs and learning styles, which fails to achieve a balance between affective and cognitive modes of learning, and which emphasizes "socialization into the mainstream culture at the cost of education about one's own cultural heritage" (Gallagher and Kinney, p. 8).

-- Failure to provide the necessary general education, basic skills foundation, and learning-how-to-learn skills which are required for the further development of specialized talents. The doors to higher education and

advanced training which are absolutely essential for the development of talent must be opened by building the sound foundation. Too often, there are different standards of educational excellence for culturally different and other minorities from the majority culture students.

-- Failure of the schools to understand the significance of a mother tongue other than English, denigrating language habits and speech patterns, and failing to provide bilingual education--i.e., fluency and comfortableness in both the mother tongue and English. Too often, schools assume that a child with limited English proficiency could not possibly be gifted. As Gallagher and Kinney (1974) have put it: "Many people hold a stereotype of the culturally different as somehow less competent, less intelligent, or less emotionally stable than people in the mainstream culture. Starting from this proposition, it is logical that the very idea of talented and gifted minority group children seems absurd to many people--some educators included" (p. 10).

-- Failure to create a learning environment and a climate for achievement in which attention is given to both the affective and cognitive elements of talent development. As has been pointed out:

> Being gifted is itself wrought with the implications of being different. Being gifted and culturally different places these students in a double bind....gifted children often may be deterred from seizing opportunities or even allowing their special talents and abilities to show becuase of their desire to blend in with their classmates and friends. Peer pressure may be an especially strong deterrent to the gifted in social systems when intellectual development and superior performance is devalued. (Gallagher and Kinney, 1974, p. 11)

-- Failure to select, assign, and provide appropriate inservice education to teachers, counselors, administrators, and other educators who must

create conditions for learning and who, by serving as the gate-keepers for programs and services, are critical in talent development. Staff development is needed to alter expectations regarding identification and nurturing talents among the disadvantaged and to develop new teaching strategies and ways of using resources.

-- Failure to help culturally different students enhance their self-esteem and recognize that "a low self-concept and a built-in expectation of failure are often evident in minority children because of the systematic and long-term discrimination they and their families have experienced" (Gallagher and Kinney, p. 12).

-- Failure to provide appropriate guidance and other support services. Gifted minority students have personal and educational guidance needs above and beyond the special needs of all gifted students. These range from help with values conflicts which stem from family and cultural attitudes, to peer attitudes, to recognizing and selecting from options available, many of which may not have been available a generation earlier.

Some of the barriers and problems which impede more effective planning and programming for gifted disadvantaged have been touched on above and the list could be extended. Perhaps the biggest block we have to deal with is the perception and treatment of minorities, women and disadvantaged children and youth as if they were all part of a large homogeneous group. When students are black, red, or brown, are culturally different, are non- or limited-English speaking, have non-standard dialects, or are poor, those who are gifted or talented among them are especially disadvantaged because

of the attitudes and expectations toward the population of which they are a part. We must first discard group stereotypes and view and treat each child in terms of his or her individuality as part of a cultural group. We need to understand how cultural differences impact both positively and negatively on the cognitive and affective development of individuals. We need to understand the various explanatory theories regarding the concept of disadvantaged as these theories provide the bases for designing programs. And, we need to be sensitive to what Torrance has called the "creative positives of disadvantaged groups," the characteristics and behaviors of different racial and ethnic minorities which represent unusual potential, not limitations. With our rediscovery of cultural pluralism and the notion that cultural and ethnic diversity can be an asset, we have again recognized that talent development always has a cultural and social referent--talents which are rewarded by a society are more likely to be identified and nurtured. Even high scholastic achievement is determined in part by the cultural milieu. What Boocock (1972) calls "the role of the student" is partially culturally determined--parents and the community communicate expectations and peers set behavior patterns. Whether individuals aspire to college and to specialized talent-utilizing careers is, in part, socioculturally determined.

Programs for Identifying and Nurturing Disadvantaged Gifted

Programs for disadvantaged gifted and women have the same goals as other programs for gifted--to identify individuals with potential for unusual or outstanding achievement, to design and implement educational opportunities and a climate for learning which will result in a sound

general education and development of special gifts and talents, and to have racial and ethnic minorities, the disadvantaged, and female gifted students adequately, if not equally, represented in all areas of specialized talents that society needs, recognizes, and rewards.

Unlike some educators who seem troubled by efforts to help the disadvantaged fit into the dominant mainstream of society and who argue that we should only develop programs which capitalize on the unique strengths of the culturally different, I do want these students to enter and participate fully in our mainstream society. I do want them to succeed at a high level academically; I do want them to enter and succeed in college; I do want them to become professionals or practitioners in areas requiring high-level, specialized training. I do want these youngsters to become mathematicians, scientists, historians, medical researchers, lawyers, writers as well as performing artists and dancers and everything else to which more advantaged, white, middle- and upper-class children and youth aspire to become and for which we have developed programs for the gifted to help them achieve. To help them aspire and achieve, we will have to capitalize on their strengths, of course, but we should not be misled as to what those strengths are or consider them too narrowly.

A number of programs, especially during the last decade, have aimed at identifying and developing the gifted and talented among disadvantaged populations. And, as from time to time, we recognize the underrepresentation of females in such areas as mathematics, scientists, engineers, and computer specialists, we mount efforts at increasing their entry into programs designed to develop such specialized talents. Some programs are based on the premise that there are some independent and public schools which

are better able to provide the programs, resources, and climate which enable them to meet the needs of gifted and talented minority youngsters. A Better Chance, Inc. (ABC) for example, has identified thousands of minority youngsters of outstanding ability and motivation and has placed them in selected independent and public high schools, where they are provided with a challenging academic program, individual tutoring and counseling, and other support which will prepare them to enter and succeed in college. The Upward Bound Program was a federally-financed program "designed to reach low-income high school students who have potential for successfully completing a postsecondary program but who, due to inadequate preparation or lack of motivation, are prevented from seeking higher education or from meeting conventional criteria for admission to college, university, or technical institute" (Pyecha and Berls, 1976, p. 2). Upward Bound students resided on a college, university, or residential school campus for an intensive six- to eight-week session, during which they attended classes, participated in various cultural and social events, received counseling and tutoring. Saturday classes were also provided for academic tutoring and cultural enrichment. Prep for Prep is an intensive 14-month program that prepares students for and places them in selective independent schools which readies disadvantaged minority group students for college. The program takes place after the regular school day and involves tutoring, counseling, and development of self-esteem and learning-how-to-learn skills.

These programs, while they make an important contribution to the education of gifted disadvantaged students and are the ones which appear in the media, only provide for a small proportion of the disadvantaged gifted. If we are to really identify and nurture the culturally different minorities,

then it is every school's responsibility--public and private--to develop programs and procedures for identifying and nurturing the potential of those populations. There are a number of programs which provide guidance for those who would plan for the disadvantaged gifted. The rationale for these programs is to increase America's resources of specialized talent by identifying able and talented youth, creating opportunities for them to understand the nature of their talents and what is needed to develop their potential, improving their success in academic endeavors, increasing their involvement in advanced education and training programs, and, eventually, assisting their utilization of their developed talents and gifts. Equal opportunities and appropriate opportunities for talent development and utilization are crucial elements in the process.

One of the earliest exemplary programs was begun in 1956 when the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS) joined with the New York City Board of Education in what was called the Demonstration Guidance Project aimed at identifying, stimulating, and guiding able junior high school students from low socioeconomic backgrounds toward college education. The junior high school level was chosen because "of the firm conviction that a program to overcome the stifling of educational motivation in disadvantaged children should be developed several years before the legal age of school leaving" (Landers, 1963, p. 2). The project was designed as a six-year effort, three at Junior High School 43-Manhattan and three at George Washington High School. The Manhattanville Junior High School served a population of 1,400 students in a low socioeconomic area with half of the pupil population black, another 40 percent Puerto Rican, and the remaining 10 percent "white and others." Thus the population consisted of racial and

ethnic minorities who were also economically disadvantaged. In June, available test scores, grades, and teachers' comments were augmented by administration of a nonverbal intelligence test, reading and arithmetic achievement tests, a personality test, and by teacher ratings. Each student was evaluated on a 10-point scale, with points given for above-average IQ, for academic achievement no lower than one year below grade level, and for a positive teacher assessment of academic potential. By the usual criteria for identifying gifted students, the DGP standards were, to say the least, low and liberal: 717 pupils (334 boys and 383 girls), or more than one-half of the student body, were identified as having academic potential and were included in the project.

The program consisted of remedial services in reading, mathematics, and speech in both regular and special classes; of group guidance aimed at raising educational aspirations realistically and meaningfully; of clinical services by a psychologist and a social worker; of cultural enrichment which used the resources of the city (theaters, museum, concerts, etc.) and visits to college campuses; and of parental education and involvement in all aspects of the program. At the high school, class size was reduced for all Project students and a double period in English was offered. After-school tutoring was made available to students who needed extra help. An intensive group and individual guidance program was provided, and the clinical services of a psychologist and social worker continued. The cultural enrichment program was continued and extended.

The scholastic achievement of the students in the project at the high school improved dramatically, the dropout rate dropped significantly,

college admissions and attendance increased substantially, with NSSFNS providing scholarship and financial aid. The Demonstration Guidance Project evaluation demonstrated that the prccedures for identification were useful with disadvantaged pupils, that remedial services coupled with cultural enrichment, more intense guidance, and parental involvement could reverse the spiral of poor academic achievement and low educational aspirations. On the basis of the evaluation, a program called Higher Horizons was designed which expanded the concept to 52 elementary schools, 13 junior high schools, and 11 high schools with 64,075 pupils in grades 3 through 10.

Many educators hearing about the Demonstration Guidance Project comment that the program really does not deal with the gifted since the pupils' IQ scores were only average, their academic achievement was hardly outstanding when identified, and the project did not provide any of the usual curricular acceleration or enrichment one finds in most programs for the gifted. However, this was a program which enhanced achievement, increased self-concepts, and helped students think about and actually enter college programs where their talents in specialized fields could be nurtured. Is college-going a sufficient criterion for judging program success? Probably not, but it is a start and most talent potential will not be realized without higher education and advanced training.

The Independent Study Program for Gifted and Potentially Gifted High School Students seeks to identify and nurture gifted young people in three urban and one suburban high school in New Haven and Hamden, Connecticut. Five staff members, teachers in academic subjects, coordinate the ISP in the four schools and counsel students in their independent study activities. In subjects other than those of the coordinators, regular class

teachers provide advisement. Staff members consult with students on a one-to-one basis and in small groups in the schools in which they serve as coordinators and, on request, in other high schools as well. Students are selected on the basis of information which includes Differential Aptitude Test (DAT) scores (verbal, math, and abstract reasoning tests); scores from the figural Torrance Creativity Test (fluency, flexibility, originality, and elaboration in thinking sections); standardized achievement test scores; and school grades. Students scoring 90 or above on any section of the DAT are considered "gifted" whether or not they score high on the creativity tests. Students who score high on the creativity tests but lower on the DAT tests are also considered. Grades are considered in conjunction with other data. Any student may also submit "concrete evidence of superior work, along with recommendations from his counselor and two or more teachers" even if test scores and grades are weak. All of the data are used to rate the student on a scale which ranks the individual's intellectual and creativte thinking abilities, together with attitude and style in academic work.

The program components include independent study projects in a variety of areas. Weekly conferences, term papers, and seminar reports are required in order to prepare students for successful college work. Students meet program requirements "through the selection of a research independent study course, an apprenticeship arrangement in conjunction with study, a course survey with weekly and biweekly seminar discussions, or through what is called the "Independent Learning Experience," a structure of the Program for seniors with highly specialized interests" (Blanning, n.d., p 27). The ISP also includes a Research Assistant Program aimed at providing students with an opportunity to contribute their talents to the ongoing life of the school

while engaging in experiential education, providing classroom teachers with assistance which will enable one-to-one instruction or enriched lessons based on resources of the ISP assistant, and providing academic models for other students by demonstrating through their own behavior that academic activities are both acceptable and desirable.

Suggestions for Planning Programs for Disadvantaged Gifted

Some suggestions concerning goals, instructional strategies, programs and provisions for disadvantaged gifted follow:

1. Be clear about the goals and objectives for the disadvantaged. The general goal of a program for disadvantaged gifted is the same as that for the advantaged gifted--to provide the basic general and specialized education which will identify and develop, insofar as possible, potential for outstanding achievement. The goals are the same; the standards are the same for advantaged and disadvantaged. It is the strategies and program structure which differ because individualization and differentiation must take into account the personal and cultural charactertistics of the student and the milieu in which he/she functions. If I seem to have stressed college-going and advanced education, it is because I believe that in our society and in our times, they are absolutely essential if talent potential is to be realized.

2. An adequate program for identifying culturally different gifted students requires the use of multiple criteria and diverse procedures. One conference group suggested that the following procedures be considered:

Students should be judged relative to cultural or community norms, not national norms.

Parental recommendations and judgments.
Peer evaluation and nomination.
Teacher evaluation and nomination.
Evidence of achievement should not be limited to standardized measures, but include areas valued by the subculture
Performance outside the normal school environment
Bilingual capability. (Gallagher and Kinney, 1974, p. 16)

In addition, Mercer's System of Multicultural Pluralistic Assessment (SOMPA), Renzulli and Hartman's Scale for Rating Behavioral Characteristics of Superior Students, the Alpha Biographical Inventory, Bruch's Abbreviated Binet for the Disadvantaged, Torrance's Tests of Creative Thinking, Guilford's Structure of the Intellect, are among the instruments which have been suggested for use with disadvantaged gifted. The emphasis is on identification "based on knowledge of the individual's cultural context and a broad investigation of the various fields in which his talent lies" (Gallagher and Kinney, p. 16)

Disadvantaged and minority group students are often handicapped in test-taking situations by lack of experience with tests and low motivation to succeed on them, by lack of competitiveness in the realms being tested, and by general test anxiety. The Learning Potential Assessment Device (Feuerstein, 1979) differs from most instruments in that it represents a dynamic approach to assessment by teaching the learner tasks and evaluating his/her capacity to learn these tasks rather than simply inventorying the student's existing fund of information. Put another way, the LPAD measures learning potential by teaching and observing what it is that he or she can learn.

With the disadvantaged gifted, self-identification takes on considerable more meaning and importance. By their behavior, by their performance and products when provided with opportunities to demonstrate unusual potential,

students can and do indicate that potential. Qualities of leadership, evidence of creativity and unusual solutions to problems, sensitivity and insight to environmental and community interactions, ability to manipulate symbol systems valued by a subculture--these and other "positive strengths" are manifested by disadvantaged and it is critical for staff members to learn how to interpret these behaviors by increasing insights and understandings as to how giftedness and talents are displayed in different cultures and in different settings.

3. The conflict in values that often exists between the school and the home and community is a real one. Culturally different students must sometimes deal with problems of at least two different value systems. As the HEW Urban Education Task Force put it,

> Daily, [the disadvantaged child] must thread his way through the set of values which the school espouses and the set which he lives with and has learned from his family and neighborhood. He must develop and carry out strategies which permit him to survive in both worlds without being overwhelmed by the conflict diverse value systems can produce. The extent to which he survives as a whole human being with a strong and stable self-concept and a sense of worth will be dependent on the quality and reality orientation of the strategies he employs (HEW Urban Education Task Force, 1970, p. 39).

As a recent article in the New York Times on the adjustments inner city youth attending elite colleges reported:

> Many black and Hispanic students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds find themselves making constant external and internal adjustments as they maneuver between a predominantly white, affluent environment at school and a working-class atmosphere at home. For some, the transition produces confusion, frustration and pain and a loneliness that stems from a belief that few experience or understand their plight (Nix, 1986, p. 1).

If giftedness is to be nurtured, then schools must create a climate for excellence for all, one in which a variety of outstanding talents are understood, valued, and rewarded. Moreover, the affective aspects

of talent development must be assigned a high priority in planning and implementation. This requires greater sensitivity to the cultural context of teaching and learning.

4. As with all programs for the gifted, differentiated curriculum is at the heart of instruction. What is required for curriculum development with the minorities and disadvantaged, as with all gifted, is an understanding of the particular patterning of their intellectual, cognitive, and affective characteristics; their cultural and socializing experiences; their attitudes and aspirations in order to provide for the selection of content and teaching strategies which represent a proper match between the individual's development level and the learning opportunities provided.

Some of the guidelines for judging curriculum materials suggested by Gallagher and Kinney (1974) include these:

- -- The cultural backgrounds of children should be taken into consideration not just for the benefit of the culturally different child but for all gifted children.
- -- Content should advance skills necessary for upward mobility in society or to increase options for students.
- -- Content should provide opportunities for active participation in expressive dimensions rather than passive listening.
- -- It should not lock culturally different children into specific economic or occupational levels.
- -- It should provide opportunities beyond the boundaries of the existing school.
- -- ....[It is important to begin] with the interests and present knowledge of the student (p. 18)

5. Successful instructional program for the disadvantaged gifted seem to have a number of common elements:

a. Successful programs provide instruction and experience in learning-how-to-learn and in learning how to play the role of the student. As Boocock (1972) observed: "What children who fail to 'make' it in school

lack is role-playing skill, not the desire to succeed, and because they do not know how to play the role of student, they are less likely to do the things that will lead to success" (p. 76) Ogbu (1978) also asserts that "the personal attributes transmitted to black children in the course of their socialization may be perfectly normal skills required by their position in the caste system, although they are not the types of skills that encourage the white middle-class type of school success" (p. 213) In my view, in the matter of talent development, "white middle-class type of school success" is and should not be a perjorative expression. The basic skills and critical and creative thinking skills are developed to high standards since all learning depends on their qualitative adequacy.

b. Successful programs are ones in which the traditional disciplines are taught and learned in divergent as well as convergent ways. Scope and sequence, focus and emphasis may be culturally imbedded, having a reality base, but not superficial or shallow.

c. Successful programs are culturally pluralistic, multicultural in focus. All aspects of a racial or ethnic group's experience can be studied in an intellectually honest, scholarly manner which enhances an individual's valuing his/her culture, teaches the process of inquiry at the same time, and develops an understanding of the disciplines involved. It is only when aspects of a culture are taught in a patronizing, condescending way does the instruction become demeaning.

d. Successful programs encourage creative, divergent approaches to study and learning. There are basically two approaches to introducing

creativity into the curriculum--creativity may be taught as a subject or the curriculum may be modified to draw on the creative possibilities in all subject areas. As DeMille (1963) explains:

> Creativity can be thought of as a new sort of subject matter or skill that is imparted by means of language, numbers, graphic and musical activities, etc. Or, the existing curriculum can be thought of as an essential core, and an effort can be made to teach it in a better way by bringing out the creativity implicit in it. The curriculum can be a vehicle for creativity or creativity can enhance the curriculum (p. 200).

As Torrance and other researchers have pointed out, disadvantaged gifted have considerable creative and divergent potential which they can bring to bear on problems if their divergency is encouraged and accepted.

e. Successful programs for gifted disadvantaged use one-to-one and small group strategies wherever possible. Experience with compensatory education programs underscore the importance of instructional situations of a tutorial or small-group nature with disadvantaged learners. Individualized attention of the kind which is often not otherwise available contributes to both their affective and cognitive development. Mentoring situations seem especially helpful.

f. Successful programs for gifted disadvantaged deal with the challenge of language development intelligently and insightfully. To nurture talent potential in any socially valuable area, reading and other communication skills are necessary. While Black English, for example, has been accepted as a legitimate language with integrity and value, if it is the only language of the black youngster, his/her opportunities for developing talent potential are severely restricted. Similarly, if the child's mother tongue is a language other than English, without adequate English skills, the child's opportunities are limited. Truly

bilingual or bi-dialectical programs--programs which nurture both the child's first language and English are essential. It is, most educators and researchers agree,

> useless and psychologically demeaning to eradicate the child' familial speech, replacing it with standard English. Both the teacher and the child must respect the child's speech as a viable means of communication in his community, while teaching him how to speak in the standard and when to use it in the larger society (Gallagher and Kinney, p. 18)

6. Expectations play a large role in actual performance. Howard and Raymond (1985) argue that "the problem of black intellectual performance is rooted in human sensitivity to a particular kind of social interaction known as 'expectancy communications.' These are expressions of belief--verbal and nonverbal--from one person to another about the kind of performance to be expected" (p. 19) In successful programs, teachers deal with expectations--their own and, perhaps more important, those self-expectations of disadvantaged students and those of their parents. Expectancies affect performance behavior, "the capacity to marshall the sharpness and intensity required for competitive success" and influence cognition, "the mental processes by which people make sense of everyday life" (p. 20). Successful programs attend to the climate of the school and classroom, to the affective dimensions of a learning environment, generating expectations for high level performance and overcoming the notion of intellectual inferiority amongst the culturally different.

7. Successful programs for the disadvantaged gifted have an experiential community-based component, extending instruction and learning beyond the school and classroom into the community, using the cultural, technical, and social resources of the community. Experience-based learning

is especially important for the disadvantaged gifted, especially when mentoring relationships are established. Cities and other communities constitute rich resources for learning and development, yet there is evidence of differential accessibility and use of the resources and learning environments in out-of-school settings. Disadvantaged gifted need such additional resources, possibly more than advantaged ones.

8. Successful programs provide opportunities for staff development wherein teachers are helped to examine their attitudes and expectations concerning disadvantaged gifted, to acquire appropriate teaching strategies, to learn to locate and use resources--material and personnel--in school and community, and to acquire insights into cultural differences and the potential strengths of such diversities. Perhaps more than other gifted students, the disadvantaged gifted are in need of mentors and counselors, role models after whom they can pattern themselves as they develop their potential and persons who can provide them with psychological and emotional support, especially in understanding and resolving problems encountered in moving between the different cultures they encounter in school, family and neighborhood-- the chief socializing and educating forces in their lives.

9. Successful programs work at creating a school and community "climate for excellence." In nurturing the potential of the disadvantaged gifted, the school staff must take the lead in creating a total environment for achieving, dealing with the biases and even the ignorance about culturally different gifted children and their potential. These efforts are not simply a public relations drive; rather, they constitute a systematic approach to deal with values, self-concepts, motivation, and aspirations of

all children and youth, parents and professionals, to create an achieving community. Programs for the gifted are often the basis for upgrading the achievement of all learners.

Identifying and Educating Gifted Women

As mentioned earlier, although they are not really a "minority," "the fact that the number of men recognized as gifted, creative, or talented in our society far exceeds the number of women who have achieved the same level of success" (Callahan, 1979, p. 401), has resulted in that population also being given special consideration to ascertain the the bases for this inequality and the ways their potential can be identified and nurtured. There is an increasing body of literature and research regarding the intellectual abilities and achievements of females as compared with males; with affective characteristics--personality, interests, values, and aspirations; and with environmental and sociocultural factors affecting gifted females. Especially in the areas of mathematics, science, computing, amd engineering, there have been programmatic efforts to increase female representation. Summarizing this literature would require another, even longer paper. Therefore, I will simply make some brief comments here.

In a book titled Smart Girls, Gifted Women, Kerr (1985) states that "Gifted girls make up one-half of what is probably the most misunderstood and neglected group in our schools today..." (p. i) and argues that "By understanding achievement and career in terms of maximum use of talents and self-fulfillment, women can stop defending their lifestyles against myriad criticisms and can search for those challenges that will permit fulfillment of potential" (p. iv).

Kerr describes barriers to achievement for gifted women, some of which are external and others which are internal; some barriers are societal while others are personal. External barriers include a shaping for femininity and a training subtly geared to lower status for girls, sexism and discrimination in schools and the workplace, and a lack of resources which ranges from funds for adequate schooling to day care facilities. The internal barriers which Kerr describes include the following:

-- The Horner Effect or Fear of Success syndrome wherein women characteristically underachieve when competing with men.

-- The Cinderella Complex, "a network of largely repressed attitudes and fears that detain women in a kind of half-light, retreating from the full use of their minds and creativity...waiting for something external to transform their lives" (p. 135)

-- The Imposter Phenomenon and Low Academic Self-Esteem, a strong belief by some women that they were not really intelligent, that they had actually fooled everyone, that their high exam scores were sheer luck, that mistakes had been made in admitting them to prestigious programs, and that their work successes were due to being overevaluated

The time has long since passed when we can continue to act on the erroneous assumption that the learning characteristics of gifted students are generalizable to both females and males and that program differentiation need not concern itself with sex differences. Kerr (1985) argues that society, and especially schools, "must take substantial responsibility for guidance of gifted girls and for creating situations that would nurture,

direct and inspire intellect among gifted girls" (p. 167). Specifically, she proposes that: (a) gifted girls must be discovered using techniques and procedures which get beyond their social camouflage; (b) gifted girls must be nourished by providing them with equal opportunities, tutoring, coaching and individualized instruction which will stimulate their involvement and achievement; (c) gifted girls must be guided by skilled counselors who "will provide them with the emotional support, with comprehensive information about career information, and with the specialized strategies that can help raise and maintain high aspirations" (p. 168); (d) gifted girls need to be loved, their sensitivity requires reassurance and support; and finally, (e) gifted girls need room, "the opportunity to do what they love to do--to learn and work" (p. 169).

Similarly, Callahan (1980) suggests that schools could help nurture gifted females by doing the following:

1. Provide activities that require females to practice visual-spatial problem solving from a young age.
2. Provide role models of gifted women engaging in successful problem-solving activities.
3. Provide activities that teach gifted girls the impact they can have on their own destinies, i.e., help them develop an internal locus of control.
4. Provide opportunities for gifted females to interact with successful, attractive feminine role models in a variety of professions.
5. Provide activities that encourage women to establish their own personal goals.
6. Set equivalent standards and criteria for reinforcement for males and females (p. 20).

If the research concerning women opting out of many areas of specialized talents early or being counseled out of those areas early has any meaning for school practice, it is clearly that experiences must be provided early on so that girls do not self-select themselves out of

such programs later on. And, since many female teachers have encountered the same barriers and have had the same experiences themselves, staff development is absolutely essential to change attitudes and expectations and acquire new knowledge and strategies.

In Conclusion

I began by noting that the underrepresentation of minorities, disadvantaged, and women in various areas of specialized talents means that these populations constitute the largest reservoir of untapped and undeveloped talent available in our society. There is clear evidence that talent is not the prerogative of any racial or ethnic group, any social class, or any residential area. It may lie untapped in some situations under some conditions, but no population has either a monopoly on nor an absence of giftedness.

The recent reform initiatives have once again reminded us of the twin goals of education--equity and excellence. Concern with the disadvantaged and minorities which resulted in the provision of compensatory education represents a commitment to equity and equality of educational opportunity; concern with identifying and nurturing the disadvantaged gifted represents an extension of that commitment to both equity and excellence.

To achieve these twin goals and to nurture and realize talent potential in populations which have traditionally been underrepresented in our programs requires that we banish our stereotypes and prejudices toward these culturally different children and youth and females. We need to create both the learning opportunities and the climate for learning

which will enable these gifted children and youth to become fully engaged in the talent development processes and not be handicapped by their sex, racial, ethnic or lamguage status. What a marvelous challenge! What a marvelous opportunity, especially in California where their are probably the largest concentrations of culturally different youth.

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